India

FOR THE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

IT is now nearly a year ago since Sir William Wedderburn moved in the House of Commons (April 3, 1900):

That, in view of the grievous sufferings which are again afflicting the people of India, and the extreme impoverishment of large masses of the population, a searching enquiry should be instituted in order to ascertain the causes which impair the cultivators' power to resist the attacks of famine and plague, and to suggest the best preventive measures against future famines.

The motion was negatived by a majority of eighty-three, and the following amendment, moved by Sir Lewis McIver, was agreed to:—

That this House, while deeply sympathising with its Indian fellow-subjects in the sufferings which plague and famine have inflicted upon them, is of opinion that *it may safely be left* to the Government of India to carry out any modification of the land tenure and industrial system which experience may have shown to be likely to mitigate the effects of famine and epidemic disease.

"It may safely be left to the Government of India," said the House of Commons nearly twelve months ago. Will it not s[illegible]n be almost time for the House of Commons to betray a little curiosity as to what steps, if any, its trusted agents have taken in the matter?

A correspondent whose letter appears in another column probably gives expression to the thought of many sober observers when he asks: "What could be more worthy of the memory of Queen Victoria than some definite and efficient step towards alleviating present and preventing future famine?" In all parts of India large sums are now being subscribed for a Victoria Memorial. Do the Viceroy and those about him really believe that in the present condition of India the memory of the Great White Queen will be most suitably perpetuated in a costly and ornate building? That some memorial of a visible and tangible kind is to be desired goes without saying. But we should have thought that at least the greater part of any funds which may be available would naturally be directed into the channels indicated by our correspondent. In another letter which we print this week Mr. T. C. Wilson makes the excellent suggestion that "a fitting Imperial tribute to the memory of our noble Queen would be for the whole British Empire to combine in raising a 'Queen Victoria Fund' for the benefit of the poorest and weakest nation in the Empire, in order to relieve it from the constantly recurring famines which turn what should be a garden into a wilderness." Mr. Wilson's proposal is that a fund should be raised for irrigation works in the most needy districts in India. It is an admirable proposal, and the best way to encourage the rest of the Empire to take it up in earnest will be for the rulers of India to give a useful and humane direction to the funds subscribed in India itself.

A correspondent at Bhagalpur writes to us:—

"The late Empress of India was pre-eminently a sovereign of broad sympathies, and her sole desire was to do good to all her subjects. A fitting memorial for such a sovereign in India would be one that will confer lasting benefit on the teeming millions of this country. India is exposed to food-famine and water-famine, and so long as these necessaries of existence are wanting, there is little room for luxuries and show. Knowing the condition of India and her wants, her late Majesty would undoubtedly have preferred to have her name commemorated by some scheme which could remove for a long time to come some real want of her voiceless Indian subjects. Food-famine, to some extent, may be beyond human control, but water-famine, to a great extent, is avoidable. What better memorial can be conceived than having Victoria wells, pucca and artesian, and Victoria tanks, as may be suitable for different localities, all over this vast Indian continent, where urgently wanted, with a permanent fund for maintenance? With every mouthful of water drunk the name of the late Empress would be daily remembered, and blessings from each thirsty mouth slaked would rise for the peace of her soul in heaven."

Mr. Adarjee M. Dalal, in a note which he was permitted to append to his evidence before the Famine Commission, explains the reason of the high assessment in Broach. Of all the Indian cotton staples that of Broach most nearly approaches that of New Orleans in quality. The American Civil War, by checking the supply of American cotton, gave a great impetus to the export of cottons from India and raised the price. The present assessment in Broach was made before this impetus had ceased. But as American cotton has gradually regained its old position the price of Indian cotton has decreased. The agricultural distress is due to (1) fall in prices; (2) want of manure—manure being now more extensively used as fuel owing to the "preservation" of the forests; and (3) the neglect of fallows, fallow land being now tilled as assessments have to be paid on it. From these two latter causes deterioration of the land results.

The *Times* publishes certain figures of the recent Indian census, from which it appears that the population of many districts of India has decreased during the last ten years. Thus in Saugor the population has fallen from 591,743 in 1891 to 470,393 in 1901. In many other parts of the Central Provinces there has also been a decrease. So in the North-West Provinces, the population of Ghazipur, to take one instance, has fallen from 1,024,753 to 914,148. The *Investors' Review* calculates that in a population of over 10,000,000—the total in the districts mentioned—there has been a decrease of about 10 per cent., or the population is now, in these districts, more than one million less than it was in 1891. The Anglo-Indian defenders of the present system will have, therefore, to face a situation in which, over a considerable part of India, the population is not growing but declining, and they will no longer be able to meet all projects of reform with the cry that over-population is the great source of Indian poverty. According to this theory these districts of India ought now to be entering on a period of unusual prosperity.

Mr. Horace Bell, C.I.E., long and favourably known in connexion with the later extension of the Indian railway system, of which at the time of his retirement he had become Director-General, recently read a paper before the Society of Arts, entitled: "Indian Railways and Famine." In regard to these two subjects the paper comprised much useful and pertinent information. But its motive, so to speak, led up to a proposal to provide against scarcity of food grain by placing restrictions on its exportation whenever the forecast of the rainy season indicated that such scarcity might be impending. Such an expedient has in the past often been proposed and its futility has as often been demonstrated. Yet in the debate that followed the reading of the paper no serious attempt was made to show the inefficacy of this superficial remedy for the privations of the millions of cultivators who cannot keep for themselves and their families the grain they do produce.

The speakers, as usual, beat about the bush, as if to avoid seeing the one certain and ever persistent cause of the destitution of rural India—the withdrawal of millions' worth of its produce year by year. Mr. Bell himself had a glimpse of this [illegible]or, as he incidentally remarked, "it seems as if India cannot sustain the strain of its export trade which the extension of railways has facilitated." The Chairman o[illegible] the Society's Council, who presided, Sir J. Wolfe Barry [illegible] most capable man in his own profession, was so far out [illegible]late as to the condition of Indian questions that in his o[illegible] speech he gravely expounded the worn-out demi-offi[illegible]l excuse for the impoverishment of the

Indian masses—"over-population." Mr. Joseph Walton did stumble upon the real cause of destitution—the financial exactions incident to our one-sided treatment of India. But he was promptly checked by the Chairman, who said he was wandering from the question. Thus it is with the attitude of our wise and eminent public men towards the Indian problem—"if the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness." However, as the *Society of Arts Journal* this week reports the whole of these proceedings, our readers can therefrom pick out such grains of wheat as they may find in a great bushel of chaff.

Mr. Pennell, who came prominently before the public in the Chupra case, wherein he showed himself so determined to do justice, has again had to deliver judgment in a case of great interest. The facts of the case are briefly these. A prosperous inhabitant of the district was reported to have been murdered. Two investigations by police officers were held, the report in each case being that no murder had been committed. But after a third investigation four men were arrested and tried before Mr. Pennell and two Indian Assessors, one being the headmaster of a Government school and the other a landowner from the interior. Three out of the four prisoners were found guilty, one being sentenced to death and the other two to penal servitude for life. Mr. Pennell delivered his judgment on February 15. It took five hours, and the Court and its precincts were thronged by a crowd of some 4,000 people.

It is not, however, the original crime itself that has created so deep an interest in the case. Two circumstances have riveted public attention. First, Mr. Pennell, having received a demi-official letter, wrote on the order sheet, "It may be an attempt on the part of the executive authorities to intimidate me," and made the whole correspondence part of the record. By the treachery of some one who had access to the record this was communicated to the public press. Secondly, at the close of the case, Mr. Pennell committed Mr. Reilly, the District Superintendent of Police, to gaol, with a view to his trial on charges of perjury and forgery in connexion with the case. He refused to release Mr. Reilly on bail.

In a despatch from the Secretary of State to the Viceroy, dated January 28, 1898, which is published in the new frontier Blue-book, the "outburst of fanaticism" is emphasised with peculiar persistence as "the principal motive for an outbreak which has been unprecedented alike in the suddenness with which it broke out at each point in the large extent of country affected, and in the simultaneous action of distinct tribes or sections of tribes." Lord George Hamilton writes:—

> Indeed there appears to be a remarkable unanimity of opinion on the part of your officers along the whole of the disturbed border that the outbreaks generally were fanatical in their origin. The proceedings of the tribes, the express statements of His Highness the Amír, and the correspondence discovered in the course of the subsequent military operations, all point to the same conclusion.

There was Saidulla, "the mad fakir," at the Malakand and at Chakdara, and there was Najam-ud-din, the Adda Mulla of Jarobi, at Shankargarh and at Shabkadar.

No one will seek to deny the influence exercised by these men upon the tribesmen. But we think that the letters found on November 17 in the house of the Akha Khel Mulla, Sayad Akbar, in the Waran Valley, addressed to him by the Adda Mulla of Jarobi, contain matter that is not fanatical, but very sober sense—matter indeed that would, if adduced on the other side, found a remarkably good claim to patriotism. The Secretary of State takes too narrow a view of the documents: they must be read in their entirety. If it were not necessary to support a temporary argument, His Highness the Amír's denunciation of the Mulla would hardly be worth quotation. Surely we all know by this time that the Amír is a rather clever diplomatist. What says Sir William Lockhart about the origin of the Afridi disturbances of 189[illegible]? This (March 16, 1898):—

> Admitting the existence last summer of a strong fanatical feeling along the North-West frontier, I doubt whether this feeling in the first instance took a firm hold on the majority of the Afridi tribesmen.

He goes on to say that "their attitude was at first vacillating and half-hearted," which Sir Richard Udny stoutly denies; but at any rate Sir William Lockhart must have had ample opportunity of forming an opinion.

And what does Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab say? This (January 17, 1901):—

> I think that . . . . most persons have come to the conclusion that that conflagration was not due to any particular forward movement, or to any defect in the detailed arrangements for carrying it out, but to so many forward movements having been compressed into so short a space of time, which was more than the mass of the tribes could stand; in other words, that the case was simply one in which the cup was filled up and overflowed.

Even Lord George Hamilton himself gives a side glance to this view (January 28, 1898), when he writes to the Viceroy:—

> Though the agreement made with the Amír of Afghanistan has relieved your Government from the constant friction which the undefined and debateable land lying between Afghanistan and British India produced between their respective Governments, in other respects it has not been an unmixed benefit, from the suspicions and misgivings it has aroused amongst certain of the tribes as to the ultimate intentions of your Government.

Just so; and, unless the Government let the tribes alone, we shall have more "conflagrations," in spite of the most beneficent intentions in the world.

True, Lord George Hamilton cautions the Viceroy (January 28, 1898) that "it is desirable to avoid giving any countenance to the idea that your Government means to administer the tribal country or to inclose it within your Provincial limits." But the Viceroy talks (August 27, 1900) of the tribal country as being within his "indisputable sphere of influence," and as having "fallen within the Protectorate" of Great Britain, which cannot repudiate "its paramount responsibility." He says, indeed, that it is neither "absorbed" nor "annexed" by the Government of India. Yet, if it be the fact, as Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick points out, that the Government of India's ideas of its controlling powers have continued to expand since the Durand delimitation, even to the extent of proposing to stop the internal quarrels of the tribesmen and to settle their disputes authoritatively, it may conceivably turn out that the acutest of the tribesmen will fail to discern the difference between our "protectorate" and what they understand by "annexation." It seems a great pity that Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick's proposal to add a *caveat* to the sanctioning despatch was not accepted. For we seem to be perilously far on the way to do exactly what Lord George Hamilton urged the Viceroy not to do three years ago, namely, to give the tribesmen the idea that we mean "to administer" their country, or "to inclose it within our Provincial limits."

There are many signs in India that the problems which spring from the position of the ruling race are exercising the minds of the more thoughtful Anglo-Indians. But it is an agreeable surprise, as the *Tribune* admits, to find these problems treated without bias or narrowness by the *Civil and Military Gazette*. Reverting to the Simla debate on the way Rome would have ruled India, the writer discusses the question of political freedom and the right of Indians to hold all posts under Government. Of course, our contemporary admits that in this latter respect the Roman Empire was superior to the British; for men of subject race often reached even the Imperial purple. But it argues that Rome had two advantages which made this easier. First, it had a more overwhelming strength in the central power, so that it was easier to get rid of officials who proved themselves unfit, or to revoke measures which were found to be dangerous. Secondly, in addition to this greater power of applying brute force, there was no religious difficulty to speak of. In the case of the religions of most of the subject peoples, their gods were admitted into the Roman Pantheon, while the deification of the Emperors gave a new religious bond. In India the religion of rulers and ruled admits of no such concordance.

But, as the *Tribune* urges, Hindus, in spite of the want of religious union, were able to hold high office under the Moslems, and it goes on to say:—

> The *Gazette* has quite misunderstood the position of the Congress. Members of the Congress are not so foolish as to make a grievance of the "caution shown by the Government in throwing open high places to the Indian." What the Congress urges is that considerations of race or creed should not debar any subject of the British Crown from holding responsible positions in the State, and that *ability* should be the sole qualification. The Congress appeals for a fair competition open to all without distinction of race or colour. Can any position be fairer?

The *Tribune* warmly recommends the advice of the *Civil*

and Military Gazette that the Indian reformer should seek to find out the points in which the British are superior—and every nation has its points of superiority—and bring his countrymen up to their level. But the *Tribune*, while willingly admitting the greatness of the British in the art of government, demand if this very greatness should not make it unnecessary for them to hedge their rule with artificial protections. The Indians only ask to share in the government of their country in proportion as they show themselves worthy to do so.

It will be remembered that one of the great objects of the "reform" of the Calcutta Municipality was to place greater power in the hands of the European element. It was pointed out at the time that as merely temporary residents in a hurry to grow rich in order to return to their own land, the most part were not likely to give their time to the work of local government. The same truth is enforced by recent events in Bombay. At the election of representatives of the Justices in the Corporation, not a single European was elected, though there are 250 Europeans on the list. The *Times of India* says:—

It must be disappointing to the few Europeans in Bombay who show the least interest in local affairs to know that so far as the Justices of the Peace are concerned they are entirely unrepresented in the Municipal Corporation.

Our contemporary suggests that those who thus will not even take the trouble to vote should in the future keep silent about municipal mismanagement. Perhaps it would be well to suggest also that they should not be held up as patterns of civic virtue.

At a recent meeting of the London Indian Society, Dr. Sarat Mullick, in an eloquent address, opened a discussion upon "The Indian Body Politic." So long, he urged, as Indians did not value each other they would have to be content with an inferior position. "We have among us that incorrigible reprobate, the 'toady,' who is ready to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage." Dr. Mullick described the Indian Princes as the natural leaders of the people, but added:—

What safeguards have they? The man in British territory who is caught even redhanded for murder is afforded the protection of the law in an open court. But for the greatest of our Princes there is no open trial or public opinion, for even the slightest dereliction of duty. The whisper of the Resident is more against him than the charters which secure his rights. It is a grievous blunder to treat them with suspicion and distrust. As the leaders of the people they are the best friends of the Government.

"The only way to influence the Government," Dr. Mullick concluded, "is by the adoption of free and compulsory education. . . . . This is the question of questions which await our consideration. By that we have lost and by that alone shall we regain the heritage of the past."

In an article on "Irresponsible Government" the *Hindu* brings out very well the anomalies of the position of the Secretary of State for India:—

The real autocrat, as far as India is concerned, is neither the Emperor nor the Viceroy, but the Secretary of State. It is this individual that guides the destinies of this huge continent with no real constitutional check upon him, and with little inducement for him to respect public opinion in India. He has nothing to expect from our good will; and as for Viceroys and Governors they are entirely under his authority and control. From India, therefore, very little effective voice can proceed against him; and in Parliament he is as strong as his party, and the strength of the latter never suffers by reason of any mismanagement of Indian affairs. His colleagues in the Cabinet have neither time nor inclination to look into his special department which, vast as are the interests involved, affords no special interest to Ministers or voters unless they anticipate some danger to the Empire. Hence the Secretary of State for the time being can do things just as he likes so far as India is concerned; and should he somehow happen to be a man imbued with liberal and progressive ideas his Council of old grandmothers will do their best to smother them. The man owes his seat in Parliament, if he is a commoner, to his constituents, and his seat in the Cabinet to his party in Parliament. To the people of India he is under no obligation of any sort; and even the party in opposition treat him quite differently from other Ministers of the Crown.

The *Hindu* concludes that "something must be done either to develop in the chief Indian Minister of the Crown the sense of responsibility towards us, or to invest the people of India with sufficient power to limit his latitude of action, at least in the more important matters of taxation and legislation."

The Indians in Natal have been in no way behind their countrymen at home in demonstrating their sorrow for the death of the Queen. The most notable exhibition of feeling took place in Durban. There, on Feb. 2, between four and five thousand Indians assembled round the Queen's statue in the Town gardens "before breakfast time, having walked in from as far as Duff's Road, Overpost, Bellair, Malvern, and the other side of the Isipingo," some of them having taken the road as early as four o'clock in the morning. The *Natal Mercury* (Feb. 4) says:—

The huge and striking procession, rendered attractive by the many-coloured garbs worn, started at a quarter to eight, headed by Messrs. Gandhi and Navar, who carried on their shoulders a wreath (for the Indian community), which was specially designed, with the Star of India represented in the centre. Mr. Rustomji also carried a wreath for the Parsee community. After making their salutations to the Queen's presentment, the gathering was addressed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who bore tribute to the many virtues of the good Queen who had just departed from this life.

Addresses were also delivered in Gujerati, Hindustani, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu, "and the hearers exhibited manifest signs of sorrow at the loss of their Kaisar-i-Hind." "It would be difficult," says the *Natal Advertiser* (Feb. 4), "to imagine a more orderly crowd or a more impressive ceremony." Thousands of women and children who could not join in the procession visited the statue during the day. Surely there can be no question now that the Indians are loyal and devoted citizens of the Empire. Surely it is time that the fact were fittingly recognised both by the British citizens of the Empire and by the authorities in all grades.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes from Durban (February 16): "Now that the Famine Fund raised in the Colony is closed, it may be as well to describe its genesis. While the Indian community was agitating itself whether it would be possible, as in 1897, in spite of the present distressing circumstances in South Africa, to make an effort, the Viceroy's letter to the Lord Mayor of London for further help was published in the local papers, and almost simultaneously with this came a request to the Protector of Indian Immigrants from the Natal Agent at Calcutta to collect subscriptions from the Indentured Indians. We thereupon bestirred ourselves, and on behalf of the Indian community, His Excellency the Governor was approached with a view to secure his patronage. He most graciously consented to become the patron of any such fund that might be raised in that behalf, and promised to head the list with £20. The Hon. Sir John Robinson, ex-Premier of Natal, and the Hon. Henry Bale, the Attorney-General of Natal, very actively espoused the movement. A strong Central Committee was formed with the Mayor of Durban as Chairman, and the Protector of Immigrants as Honorary Treasurer, and an appeal for funds was made in the papers which also rendered great help.

"A local artist drew up a realistic cartoon which the *Natal Mercury* consented to issue as a special. The excellent pictorial representations of the *Times of India* were pressed into service. The result was that nearly £5,000 were collected, of which about £3,000 were contributed by Europeans, £1,700 by the Indians and £300 by the Natives. The magistrates in the various divisions, chairmen of local boards, the clergy, and a band of Indian workers, besides the Committee members, vied with one another in making collections. Lady Robinson, supported by her friends, also rendered valuable help. Colour prejudice was for the time being forgotten, and the best traits of the character of the community were, in this instance, brought into play. In 1897 the European contribution to the Famine Fund was over £200 and the Indian was about £1,200. There was an organisation formed then for collections among the Europeans. The Viceroy has acknowledged the generosity of Natal in very suitable terms."

Remittances on India for 80 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs.5,77,74,000 were received at prices ranging from 1s. 3⅞d. to 1s. 3$\frac{31}{32}$d. The following amounts were allotted—viz., in bills, Rs.29,60,000 on Calcutta and Rs.3,00,000 on Madras at an average of 1s. 3·906d., and Rs.9,14,000 on Bombay at an average of 1s. 3·907d., and in telegraphic transfers four lakhs on Calcutta, two lakhs on Bombay, and three lakhs on Madras, all at an average of 1s. 3·968d. Tenders for bills at 1s. 3$\frac{29}{32}$d., and for transfers at 1s. 3$\frac{31}{32}$d., will receive in full. Last week remittances for Rs.87,62,358 were sold for £581,434, making the total sold from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs.18,15,34,023, producing £12,086,444. Next week 80 lakhs will again be offered.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE NEW "AGENCY."

AT last there has been issued a Blue-book containing "Papers regarding British relations with neighbouring tribes on the North-West Frontier of India and Punjab Frontier Administration." In these papers we are able to trace, at any rate in broad lines, the genesis and evolution of the policy ending in the establishment of a new "Province" or "Charge" or "Agency" on and beyond the North-West border. It is a matter of subordinate importance to assign the achievement to one or other of the wise and eminent for whom a claim is put forward. Lord Curzon says he has "initiated a definite policy on the North-West frontiers of India." He also speaks of it as "inspired by the Supreme Government"—that is, himself. Lord George Hamilton "desires it to be understood" that his approval of Lord Curzon's proposals is based on his acceptance of the main conclusions he had himself stated, and "which I find that your Excellency in Council has adopted." The Anglo-Indian journals, again, take Lord Curzon to task for apparently arrogating to himself the honours that belong to Lord Lytton. The quarrel is a pretty quarrel as it stands, and we do not propose to spoil it by intervention. The present stage is the hopeful one; we must wait, in prudence, to see how the thing works; for, if it do not work satisfactorily, the claimants of the honour of its creation will probably not be very tenacious of their claims. What we ourselves are concerned for at the moment is to see how the change has come about, so far as one can gather the facts from the selection of documents submitted to the public.

But before entering on this investigation we wish to say a word on the point of policy which occupies many of the earlier pages of the Blue-book in a restricted form, and which is not kept to the front in the later pages so carefully as one would like. We refer to the fundamental question of the dealings of the Indian Government and its officers with the trans-frontier tribes. The Secretary of State telegraphed to the Viceroy on October 13, 1897:—

> I understand you to be in favour of strictly limiting our interference with independent tribes, and thus avoiding serious eventual responsibilities involved in extension of administrative control over tribal territory. In this I entirely concur. The question of disarmament, so far as it appears to imply protection, should be examined from this point of view. Assuming that our policy is to maintain our position as it existed before these disturbances, you will no doubt consider and let me know what posts and lines of communication you regard as indispensable for this purpose, due regard being had, first to what is possible with existing military force, second to financial situation, and third to great political importance of avoiding any measures likely to cause discontent among tribes and consequently recurring disturbances.

The experiences of the Tirah campaign apparently were then inculcating prudence. In the discussions on the resettlement of the Khaibar there are numerous illustrative glimpses into the official mind; but, as the issue was on the whole satisfactory, we do not go into that subject now. We come down to January 28, 1898, when a Government despatch declared a policy of non-annexation and non-interference, which was expounded on their behalf by the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, and the future Viceroy (Lord Curzon). This policy Lord Elgin endorsed, regarding it as "the best hope of a peaceful and permanent settlement;" and, by the way, in his Minute of November 6, 1898, he stated that, for this very reason, he "deprecated the establishment on the frontier of an authority which, from the nature of things, must in my judgment endanger its continuance"—referring to a special authority of the sort now sanctioned. Now, Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in a long Minute dated January 17, 1901, explaining his reasons for his rejected opinion that an additional paragraph should have been inserted in the despatch on the constitution of the new Agency (a step that he approves), points out that the danger referred to by Lord Elgin "is real," and "one against which we should be on our guard"—though Lord Curzon scouted it, not seeing "where the danger really lies." Sir Dennis, seeing it very vividly, wanted the despatch to reiterate the injunctions contained in the despatch of January, 1898, because "the Government of India are on the one hand inclined to take a somewhat exaggerated view of the obligations thrown on us by the Durand Commission, and on the other hand are not sufficiently alive to the difficulties of the position." He points out that "as to the nature and extent of the control so to be established the views of the Government of India seem to have expanded considerably after the Durand delimitation agreement," and that "later on the views of the Government of India seem to have expanded still further." Indeed, he says:—

> They seem to have got so far as this, that we are bound to establish over the tribes not merely such control as was needed for our own protection and to enable us to check raids against the Amír on certain parts of the Durand line, but, further, such control as might be necessary to stop the internal quarrels of the tribesmen among themselves and authoritatively settle their disputes; and that the Government of India, notwithstanding the emphatic warnings against interference and extensions of administrative control given by the Secretary of State after the disastrous events of 1897, still hold that view is clear from recent discussions.

The withdrawals from tribal territory have given general satisfaction, but it is only too evident that there is still very cogent reason for suspending judgment on the tendency of the prevailing policy. This renders all the more doubtful the new arrangement eliminating the experience of the Punjab Government and throwing direct power into the hands of the Government of India.

The first idea of a separate Frontier Province goes back, we believe, beyond Lord Lytton to Lord Dalhousie; but, at all events, in both cases it was checked by events. The present recrudescence may be taken to date from Lord George Hamilton's decisive expression of the opinion of her Majesty's Government (August 5, 1898) "that the present arrangements are not satisfactory, and that it is desirable that the conduct of external relations with the tribes on the Punjab frontier should be more directly than heretofore under the control and supervision of the Government of India." After much discussion of the plan of dividing the Commissioner of Peshawur into two—making him so far an officer of the Government of India and so far an officer of the Punjab Government—the decision fell upon the plan now adopted. Lord Curzon expounds the whole business in a very long Minute, dated August 27, 1900, and despatched by the Viceroy in Council on September 13. He argues that "its possible risks may be more than compensated by its unquestioned advantages of reduced outlay, of increased tactical mobility, and of tribal contentment"; and says that, "above all" the scheme "is intended to emphasise the responsibility which the Government of India has assumed, and of which it cannot ever safely divest itself, for the pacification and control" of the frontier regions. These regions, generally, up to the Durand line, like Waziristan in particular, have "without being thereby either absorbed or annexed by the Government of India, passed into its indisputable sphere of influence"—"have fallen within the Protectorate of a Power which, while it may not be anxious to assume, cannot in the last resort repudiate, its paramount responsibility." We note these ominous phrases—"sphere of influence," "Protectorate," "paramountcy" (why not also "suzerainty"?)—crammed into a couple of sentences. We must restrict ourselves, however, to the Viceroy's reasons for the creation of a new province. First, he points out that the Viceroy is Foreign Minister, and that, while he is held accountable, he must work through local officers appointed by the Local Government. He says:—

> I venture to affirm that there is not another country or Government in the world which adopts a system so irrational in theory, so bizarre in practice, as to interpose between its Foreign Minister and his most important sphere of activity, the barrier, not of a subordinate official, but of a subordinate Government, on the mere geographical plea that the latter resides in closer proximity to the scene of action—a plea which itself breaks down when it is remembered that for five months in the year the supreme and local Governments are both located at the same spot, Simla.

Here is sad extravagance, surely. Lord Curzon cites statistics to show that hardly any Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab since 1877 has had any previous frontier experience worth mention. But Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick and Mr. Merk show how the system works, and how differently a Lieutenant-Governor is placed from a Viceroy. The Lieutenant-Governor comes with a great mass of multifarious experience and abundance of caution, and by personal intercourse soon gets into the frontier ways. The Viceroy must depend on written communications or on the reminiscences of retired frontier officers about him. To call this a "mere geographical" difference would be preposterous in anybody but a Viceroy. It is very futile to depreciate the experience of the Punjab officers, in all

grades; for where else is he to get his instruments? And if the capacity of Punjab officers, such as it may be, is at the disposal of the Viceroy just as it is at the disposal of the Lieutenant-Governor, we have just seen that the different relations between them and the two superior authorities must make the outcome of the co-operation very different in the two cases. Lord Curzon next charges on the present system "departmental irresolution, the dissipation instead of the concentration of responsibility, and long and injurious delays." Obviously, the interposition of the Punjab causes a certain delay. The real question is, whether such delay is beneficial or not. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick points out that "the Lieutenant-Governor has had on certain occasions, as, *e.g.*, when some of the forward moves mentioned by Lord Curzon were proposed, and also when the advance to the Malakand and the Chitral road and certain demarcations of the Durand line on the ground were under discussion, to represent to the Government of India that such measures would present certain difficulties and be attended with a considerable amount of risk." Is such a delay beneficial or not? And if the Government has direct control, are its officials as likely to be strong enough to interpose so authoritative a suggestion of risks as a Lieutenant-Governor? And if not, what then? Lord Curzon refers to a particular case in Lord Elgin's time. Sir Dennis points out that, "while his remarks are verbally accurate, they are likely to convey a wholly erroneous impression": the matter in question fell through simply because the Government of India did not answer the Punjab Government's letter! Will the Government of India answer Colonel Deane's letters? And as for the dissipation of responsibility, that, as we have already remarked, is a mere rhetorical expression.

The Blue-book is full of matter and not to be exhausted in a couple of columns. If the new system was to be created it seems a pity that it could not have been based on more accurate positions. Sir Mackworth Young and Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick evidently speak with much reserve, and the points they do openly urge indicate that Lord Curzon has yet much to learn of the actual facts and not a little to unlearn. The change seems to have been resolved upon, and then arguments seem to have been hastily (after eighteen months' study, indeed) rushed into a rhetorical Minute. If it gives a war Viceroy a keener instrument it does the same service for a peace Viceroy. It may be, as Sir Dennis says, that the Punjab Government was practically falling out of the running and that the change was inevitable. In any case it is now for the British public to keep a steady and vigilant eye on the policy of the Government.

EIGHT MONTHS OF INDIAN TRADE.

By An Anglo-Indian.

In India for November 17, 1900, in an article entitled "India's Constant Adverse Balance," was presented a table of figures showing the total values of the sea-borne trade of India for the five years ending with March, 1900, and exhibiting the excess of exports—that is, India's commercial deficit for that period—nearly Rx. 134,000,000 more of value sent out than received by that country. The serious considerations thus suggested by India's abnormal economic condition were then explained, and need not be dwelt upon here. For the present, I wish to utilise, by way of current illustration, the figures of India's international commerce for two-thirds of her present financial year—that is, the eight months ending with November last. These are the figures, as "published by Order of the Governor-General in Council"—with a little sum in subtraction applied to them:—

Eight months ending November 30.

EXPORTS.

	1900.	1899.	1898.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Merchandise	67,002,459	70,747,420	72,818,615
Treasure	8,162,679	5,394,618	5,079,109
Rx.	75,165,138	76,142,038	77,897,724

IMPORTS.

	1900.	1899.	1898.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Merchandise	49,964,844	50,155,901	45,053,659
Treasure	9,452,865	12,495,828	11,740,469
	59,417,709	62,651,729	56,794,128
India's Commercial Deficit for the Eight Months. Rx.	15,747,428	13,490,309	21,103,596

Now let me, by way of showing more clearly the financial bearing of these figures on the low industrial condition of the Indian people, add up these three sets of chronic monetary and commercial deficit. These three totals amount to Rx. 50,343,333. If we take leave to assume that the figures for the remaining third of the years are in somewhat similar proportion, a total deficiency for the three years ending with March, 1900, will appear as Rx. 75,514,999, or an annual average of Rx. 25,171,666. Reference to the table of the five years' statistics set out in November last will show that this (partly hypothetical) result is less by a million and half than the actual average of that quinquennium as exhibited in the Governor-General's figures.

Though the details of these useful current Trade and Navigation returns do not concern us in this total financial comparison, there are several items of interest to merchants and bankers respectively. For instance, one result of the renewed dearth in the eight months under report is seen in the diminished exports of merchandise—some three to five millions less than in the corresponding two years. [By the way, Mr. Horace Bell will see that, without check from such export duty on foodstuffs as he suggests in his Society of Arts paper, more than that decrease in total export values is accounted for by the falling-off in exports of edible grain, including rice, while the export of wheat shrank to insignificance.] On the other hand, though the total of mercantile imports during the eight months shows less diminution, one item due to the dearth is that of thirty-three lakhs' worth of raw cotton "other than Asiatic"—probably most of it for the mills in the Central Provinces owned by the enterprising firms of which Mr. Jamsetji N. Tata is the head and pioneer. Bankers may take note of the increased export of treasure; and, for the benefit of such members of Sir Henry Fowler's Currency Committee of 1898 as have memories, one may mention that such increase is more than accounted for by Rx. 5,376,310 worth of gold sent back to Europe or America, rather more than half of that being on Government account. So, in regard to India and the yellow metal, it is proved that "coin her pouches wad na' bide in." This is for quite a different cause from that prompting the custom of Burns's generous friend. India is too poor to use or keep the gold, and the inexorable Home Charges must be met. So, seeing that export produce was scarce, the precious yellow metal must come back to this, the Master Country.

When the chronic hemorrhage is thus seen for a moment in its naked form some of our too busy public men may have their attention drawn to the constant depletion of India's resources as cited in the recent figures set out above, and as summed up in the astounding aggregate totals in the article of last November. In presence of these hundreds of millions drawn from the politically helpless dependent country and disbursed here, adding year after year to the income of this United Kingdom, the solemn chaffering, recently, of the Indian Secretary over the paltry quarter million—proposed to be, as it were, surreptitiously remitted—is like unto some bankrupt's dividend of a penny in the pound. Merely to take one item, compare this "concession" with the Non-Effective Charges (Rx. 5,750,000), and furloughs besides, nearly one million more.

Not only is the industrial and financial condition of the people of India desperate, but the bare subsistence of half its agricultural population is at stake. These uncompensated excess exports are no "balance of trade," as in money-market phrase; but, in the economic sense, represent Tribute which is drawn away from India to pay for *our* sway over her people and their destinies. Until at least half of this—say, six or seven millions—shall be sustained by the wealthy Master Country, there can be no recovery in the unhappy condition of the masses of India's population.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

AFTER an all-night sitting, forced on the House of Commons by the obstinacy of its leader, Mr. Brodrick came down to Westminster last Friday and expounded to a jaded audience the details of his latest scheme of Army reorganisation. The speech occupied nearly two hours and a half, and perhaps on that account was generally applauded as a great intellectual feat. But the rapturous chorus has not been sustained. Members have had time in the interval to overtake their arrears of sleep, and to bring an unclouded intelligence to bear on Mr. Brodrick's new model. Under the test of a practical analysis the great scheme is discovered to be an elaborate piece of make-believe. It pre-supposes a military ardour on the part of the people of this country which has yet to be discovered by the recruiting sergeant. At a cost of only two millions, we are to see our Army increased by 126,000 men. Where the men are to come from is a question that Mr. Brodrick leaves unanswered.

Most of the critics, indeed, have arrived at a conclusion which is scarcely flattering to Mr. Brodrick's ingenuousness. The militarists say that with one more ingredient his scheme would be perfect. That ingredient is compulsion. For the present, the Secretary for War declines to add it to the mixture, but indicates at the same time that he entertains no objection in principle to the addition. In other words he has prepared the elements of an effervescing draught, and having omitted the agent of effervescence solemnly assures his patients that if the liquid fails to fizz he will be driven to add the one thing needful. The scheme, that is to say, has been made to fail. It is offered to the public as the last word in voluntaryism. "We have exhausted our resources," Mr. Brodrick will say presently, "and now, alas! there is nothing for it but conscription."

Some of the details of the scheme meet with unreserved approval. Among its popular points are the proposed delegation of administrative authority to the officers in command of each of the six Army corps, into which the military body is in future to be distributed, the cheapening of the means of equipment for cavalry officers, the transfer of a number of minor coaling stations to the care of the Navy, and the vigorous development of the yeomanry service. Not so popular, on the other hand, is the oblique attack which the War Office are evidently contemplating on the volunteer force. "Our motto with respect to that branch of the service," said Mr. Brodrick, "is efficiency before numbers." He might have said that the motto of the Government for the whole Army was henceforth to be "Defence *plus* defiance." Needless to say, all really urgent reforms are postponed indefinitely. The fabric of the War Office itself is treated as sacrosanct, and until Mr. Brodrick and Lord Roberts break out into open disagreement, like their distinguished predecessors, the question of precedence is to be allowed to lie dormant.

Although the Nationalist Members lately have been under a cloud, they have achieved more than one substantial victory. Their successes are a tribute to the utility of persistent and unpalatable advertisement. In season and out of season, for instance, Irish orators had demanded a revisal of the oath of abjuration taken by the King on his accession. For a time the Government declined to move in the matter. Their unfriendly attitude simply stimulated Mr. Redmond and his friends to fresh efforts. Eulogies on the King were interrupted the other night by angry cries of "He has insulted the Catholics," and Mr. Balfour was warned that at every stage in the process of fixing his Majesty's Civil List a similar hostility would be displayed. The prospect became too terrifying. Mr. Balfour surrendered at discretion, and thanks to their much importunity, the Irish Members are now happy in the knowledge that the Government are about to appoint a Committee to enquire into the justice of this theological grievance.

Some slight attempt was made on Tuesday night to organise a demonstration of welcome in honour of the returning prodigals of the Irish party. It did not come up to expectation. Captain Donelan on rising to put a question was loudly cheered, but when Mr. Flavin and a like-minded colleague strode up the floor of the House, in obvious expectation of a reception, they were greeted with disrespectful laughter as well as with admiring applause. The truth is that while the autocratic methods of Mr. Balfour are profoundly and generally resented, the House of Commons has no idea of exalting its occasional rioters to the honours of canonisation.

An instructive incident was witnessed in the course of a debate on one of Mr. Balfour's numerous motions for the restriction of Parliamentary discussion. The First Lord of the Treasury had become weary of listening to criticisms of his mismanagement. Eventually he tried a fall with Mr. Lloyd George, suggesting that that gentleman was transgressing the rules of order. The Speaker ruled, on the contrary, that it was Mr. Balfour who was at fault. Presently the leader of the House tried to retrieve his error of judgment by moving the closure. To his mortification, the Speaker ignored the motion. Mr. Balfour reddened to the eyes, his confusion being deepened by the loud cries of exultation that arose from his watchful adversaries. The incident was not without its moral, for a few minutes later, as the Speaker had doubtless foreseen, the debate that was then in progress came to a natural termination.

Extraordinary feeling has been excited by the Colvile case, due in large measure to the tactless manner in which the War Office has dealt with the affair. The discussion in Parliament was remarkable for its fluctuations of prejudice and prepossession. Mr. Douglas's speech in vindication of the disgraced soldier made a profound impression, but its effect was almost obliterated by an astounding narrative of infirmity of purpose, absurd pedantry, and rebellious self-will which Mr. Brodrick afterwards presented to the House as a true and faithful record of General Colvile's doings on the field of battle. Next day the debate was continued, with the result that feeling swayed once more to the side of the culprit. It became evident, indeed, that, consciously or otherwise, the Government had suppressed some essential facts of a nature favourable to Sir Henry Colvile. So decided was the revulsion that Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain found it necessary to intervene—the former with a warning that any reversal or revision of the War Office verdict would lead to Lord Roberts's resignation, and the latter with a threat that the resignation of Lord Roberts would be accompanied by that of the Government.

Thus coerced, the faithful Ministerial following were compelled to ignore what Mr. Asquith described as "the canons of natural justice" and to vote on a question of justice as if it were an issue of party rivalry. The Liberals were divided, as many as thirteen of their number voting with the Government, while the Conservatives, although strongly in favour of a revision of the case, responded almost without defection to the crack of the party whip. More will be heard of the affair. General Colvile has received every encouragement to persevere with his demand for a further investigation, and in the meantime his friends intend to insist on an application of the principle that has led to his dismissal to the cases of the other generals who have distinguished themselves by their incompetence.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

[FROM AN INDIAN CORRESPONDENT.]

BOMBAY, February 23.

The battle of the Victoria Memorial is still waging. The Viceroy's movement is still regarded with disfavour, and the *Pioneer* has something pungent to say of the way in which Lord Curzon and his friends are attempting to assert his own proposal. Moreover, by asking representative gentlemen in other parts of India to join his own favourite scheme, the Viceroy has placed these gentlemen in a very awkward position. Our Indian friends are very polite. They do not wish to show any outward rudeness to a kind of implied command of the Viceroy. Here, again, his lordship's impulsiveness has proved to be embarrassing to him, despite many apologies appearing in the friendly press.

But this criticism may be allowed to pass. The more serious criticism has reference to the way in which the Viceroy referred to his own share in the formation of the new Trans-Indus charge. The Government resolution is so worded as to leave the impression on the reader that it is entirely owing to his lordship's statesmanship that such a charge has now for the first time been formulated. It is nothing of the kind, and two of the daily English journals here have pointed out how much the credit of the original scheme is due to the late Lord Lytton.

Apart from this, what is the view of the Natives of the

country residing in or about the newly formed "Province"? The *Tribune* of the 19th inst. entirely disapproves of the scheme, and that journal has a better right than any other in India to pronounce authoritatively on the subject. It says that it is the very opposite of statesmanship to unite two communities wide asunder as the poles. So to administer a province as to bring into active collision the highlanders who are always at feud with the lowlanders is the height of folly. The *Tribune* is very bitter on the subject, and remarks that it is the characteristic of the paternal despotism of the British Government in India "to regard the people practically as infants who do not know what is good for themselves." "If our rulers had been good enough to consult the leading inhabitants of the districts to be divorced, they would have been surprised to find that they were opposed to the scheme to a man. . . . What the supreme Government is going to do is to put the wolf and the lamb in the same fold." There is truth in this statement, and it is astonishing that with all his knowledge of border chiefs and border politics Lord Curzon should have fallen into this error, which is certain to aggravate the existing blood feuds between the men of the lowlands and those of the highlands. The Trans-Indus "Province," it is to be feared, will be as much a source of trouble, anxiety, bloodshed, and loss of taxpayers' money as the Province of Upper Burma was for fifteen years. We shall see whether Lord Curzon will, while there is time, alter the alignments so as to separate the wolf from the lamb.

I must next refer to the renewed stringency of the money market. Everywhere the open-minded are pointing to the moral of the closure of the mints. Slowly the evil effects of that unpardonable "crime of June, 1893," are being realised. The tea planters are loud in evidence. And next, the mill-owners of Bombay and Calcutta. The absurd "redundancy" theory, of which the redoubtable Sir James Westland was the Goliath, has been proved to demonstration. At present it seems that, in spite of continuous coinage of rupees, the Government is unable to supply the demand of the trade. We now see in its fullest operation the unsound policy which attempts to force gold into circulation on the one hand and is powerless to retain it in the treasury on the other. The more ridiculous feature of this artificial currency is that while gold is exported from one end more gold is pouring in at the other. As Mr. Lindsay rightly observes in his latest monograph on the subject, while gold ought, in reality, to be allowed to stay in its own stronghold, in London, the Indian Government is doing the very opposite. When will this muddling, meddling, and disastrous policy cease to trouble the land? When will the evils that it has given birth to be averted? The stern Nemesis of facts is proving what the staid and sober people of experience have been saying in regard to this ill-fated measure since its inception. Here, too, the cry of the Congress has proved true. It began with a warning voice a year before the closure actually took place, and it only dropped further criticism when, a year ago, it found it hopeless to say aught more—everything that was to be said having been said. Both Mr. Lindsay's note and Mr. David Yule's speech at the last meeting of the Calcutta Bank are well worth notice at this juncture.

It seems that Mr. Pennell, of Chupra fame, has not been deterred by his banishment by the high authorities to Noakhali from fighting once more his battle of justice and righteousness. Another case has turned up under his jurisdiction, where a zemindar was violently attacked and murdered by three persons and wherein some police officials were seriously implicated. The trial lasted a fortnight and Mr. Pennell, in giving judgment, has indicated charges of a grave character against the conduct of some of the magistracy. The judgment is being published by instalments; but it is certain to create a greater sensation than the Chupra case, and is likely to hasten on the long-pending question of the separation of judicial from executive functions. There will be time enough to offer more criticism on the judgment when the entire text is published.

This leads me to draw special attention to a recent article in the *Hindu* on the irresponsible character of the Government of Great Britain in India. It is to be hoped this important subject will not be lost sight of. Let the new Parliament carefully enquire whether there is any such thing as responsibility in government; and if there be none, is it likely that this irresponsible condition of affairs can bode any good to England or to India?

Lastly, a very good suggestion is made by the *Statesman* with regard to the influence and effect of our new Sovereign once more visiting India, and proclaiming himself "Emperor of India" in the historical capital of India. The suggestion is admirable. But whether the Constitutional advisers of the King would consider it practical, especially at the age at which he has arrived, is another question. But I need not say how closer still might the bonds of loyalty be brought together by such an Imperial coronation in this country.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR.

INDIA AND THE VICTORIA MEMORIAL.

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—Some of us here—and doubtless many throughout the Empire will share our view—feel much concerned at the proposal to raise a hall or monument to the memory of Queen Victoria in Calcutta out of money subscribed from different parts of India. We feel that, in view of the present and threatened scarcity and famine in that land, the only justifiable object of surplus expenditure is the alleviation of distress. What could be more worthy of the memory of our Victoria than some definite and efficient step towards alleviating present, and preventing future, famine?

I hope that you will exert your influence to see if, even at the eleventh hour, a move cannot be made to divert all available energies and resources in this direction.—Yours, etc.,

Arthur St. John.

11, South End Road, Hampstead.
March, 1901.

The following letter has appeared in the *Yorkshire Post* and other journals:—

Sir,—May I ask for space to add one more to the suggestions already made for a memorial to our late beloved Queen?

Last year the various portions of the British Empire showed in a most remarkable manner both their individual loyalty and the solidarity of the Empire by the eagerness with which they came forward to offer help in Britain's hour of need. From all the self-governing Colonies, and from some of the Crown Colonies, as well as from India, help was gladly offered. The assistance thus spontaneously proposed, and heartily given, was to aid the richest and strongest nation in the British Empire in a sudden but temporary emergency. May I suggest that a fitting Imperial tribute to the memory of our noble Queen—as well as a national acknowledgment of God's mercies to us during her long reign—would be for the whole British Empire to combine in raising a "Queen Victoria Fund" for the benefit of the poorest and weakest nation in the Empire, in order to relieve it from the constantly recurring famines which turn what should be a garden into a wilderness.

Let Great Britain and Ireland, the Colonies, and India herself, unite to raise a large fund to be applied to the irrigation of those districts in India which suffered most severely from last year's famine. Sir Arthur Cotton's wonderful success in the Godavery district should encourage irrigation schemes in other parts. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces says respecting his own district in 1897:—

"The estimated value of the crops raised on canal-irrigated lands is likely to be about 50 per cent. more than the total capital cost of the canals from their beginning to the present time."

The *Friend*, in an article on "How to Prevent Indian Famines," summed up the matter as follows:—

1. That India can be freed from famine only by an adequate supply of water to the land under cultivation.
2. That in the great river systems of the Peninsula there exists a supply of water abundantly sufficient in most districts, if wisely applied, for this purpose.
3. That at present, in a great part of the country, almost the whole of this plentiful supply of untold value is allowed to flow uselessly to the sea.
4. That given the engineering skill competent to deal with the continent on a large and comprehensive plan, there is no reason why the greater part of the area should not be permanently protected from famine.
5. And lastly, that the necessary hydraulic works, and the outlay on their construction and maintenance, would be repaid over and over again in the ever-increasing prosperity of the country.

Doubtless the objection will be made that the irrigation of India is too great and expensive an undertaking to be done by a memorial fund. I would answer:—

1. Quite true, and I do not propose it.
2. But we may at least make a beginning in the most needy districts.
3. The work will be abundantly self-supporting when once it has had time to develop (see 5 above).
4. Therefore, we do not need to raise a capital fund, but a fund sufficient to pay the whole interest on the capital outlay (in the district chosen for a commencement), for, say, five years, and partial interest at a diminishing scale for, say, another five years.
5. Do not say the Government ought to do this. The Indian Government's finances have been greatly strained by the late famine, and Lord Curzon believes there is another in prospect.

The British Government has the war on its hands, and judging by last year's experience, will do nothing.

In conclusion, I ask your readers to consider whether this would not be a fitting memorial of the noble woman who was the first Empress of India, as well as a happy inauguration of the reign of his Majesty King Edward the Seventh, who has himself travelled in that land of which he is the first Emperor.—I am, yours truly,

T. Crewdson Wilson.

Kendal.

THE DEPOPULATION OF INDIA.

[From the "Investors' Review."]

We cut the following from Thursday's *Times.* It is a telegram from the Calcutta correspondent of that paper dated March 6:—

Calcutta, March 6.

From such census figures as have been published it appears that famine and pestilence have had a marked effect in certain Provinces. The census of 1891 showed an increase generally over India, except in certain fever-stricken tracts. This was only expected, as during the decade ending in 1881 a widespread famine had occurred which had checked the normal increase, whereas the period 1881-1891 was one practically free from causes which involve abnormal mortality. During the past ten years two famines, 1896-97 and 1899-1900, have occurred, while the ravages of plague in Bombay Presidency extend over at least four years. The result is not only that the normal rate of the increase of population is stopped, but an actual decrease is shown in the figures as compared with those of 1891. This is strikingly exemplified in the Central Provinces, which have been twice smitten with famine after several years of poor crops. Thus the following districts show a decrease:—Jabalpur, 680,485, against 748,146; Seoni, 327,170, against 370,767; Narsinghpur, 313,829, against 367,026; Mandla, 297,454, against 339,373; Damoh, 285,138, against 325,613; Saugor, 470,393, against 591,743; Balaghat, 326,704, against 383,331; Bilaspur, 1,011,512, against 1,164,158; Hoshangabad, 449,167, against 497,487; Chuikhadon State, 26,386, against 36,288; Makrai State, 13,021, against 18,549.

Similarly in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, where the famine of 1897 was severe:—Allahabad district, 1,487,904, against 1,548,737; Bijnot, 779,361, against 794,070; Ballia, 949,966, against 995,327; Banda, 631,337, against 705,832; Ghazipur, 914,148, against 1,024,753; Benares, 203,095, against 219,467; Mirzapur, 1,082,903, against 1,161,508.—*By Indo-European Telegraph.*

The above is a very imperfect presentment of the facts, due perhaps to the incompleteness of the census returns. We think, however, the correspondent might have taken a little trouble to interpret the figures for his British readers. Analysing them, we find that the population embraced in the above brief summary aggregated about 10,300,000 ten years ago, and that the actual decrease on this number, shown in the new census, is about 10 per cent., that is to say 1,022,000. But this is not all. Measured by the growth of population over the whole of India in the decade ended with 1891, had conditions been normal there would have been an increase of more than 1,300,000 on the figures for that year for the districts enumerated above. It follows, therefore, that the loss of population therein, normal increment allowed for, is really upwards of 2,320,000 in ten years, and this over a comparatively small area of the districts overwhelmed by famine. When the whole census returns have been completed we trust this correspondent, or some other capable writer, will take the trouble to analyse them with a view to bring before the British public the denudation in progress over great areas of our Indian dominion. Such analysis ought at least to disabuse the public mind of the nonsense about famines being due to a too rapid increase in the numbers dependent upon the produce of the soil. Instead of growing, the population is decaying in many districts of India besides those enumerated above. And we are this year to have a repetition of last year's disasters, not on quite the same scale perhaps, but in sufficient magnitude to carry still further the decay now in progress. This being so, one's mind is filled with despair not only at the outlook in India, but at the apathy with which the British public regards that dependency, still so splendid in its potentialities. The generous giver of the subjoined addition to our little Famine Fund, one whose name is a household word in India—and ought to be that here, for his counsels are wise and humane—urges us not to drop our famine fund, because dark times are ahead. We have no intention of dropping it, although its position is not one to encourage us in going on. The miseries of India can be mitigated in some measure by generous help from this side, but cure is impossible until the people of England wake up to an understanding of the real problems demanding solution there; until we abandon the fatal apathy so characteristic of Imperialism and seek to develop India sympathetically, self-sacrificingly, labouring continually to elevate its people and instruct them.

Subscriptions to our little fund, from which not a penny is deducted for advertisements in newspapers or any other kind of charges, may be sent to A. J. Wilson, at this office; cheques to be crossed "Union Bank of London, Indian Famine Fund."

Amount previously acknowledged	£940	4	8
"Article in *Speaker* on Indian Famine"	4	0	0
	£944	4	8

AN INDIAN CAMPAIGN IN CORNWALL.—III.

[From a Correspondent.]

At Penzance.

On the 7th ult. Mr. Caine and Mr. Pillai left for Penzance, which is known as the "Riviera of England." This beautiful little town has had no Liberal organization during the last fourteen years. It has always been Liberal, but the representative of the St. Ives division, to which the town belongs, had shown recently a strong inclination to Liberal Unionism. Hence a new Liberal Association was formed and the Association kindly permitted an Indian to address their first meeting on Indian matters. About 200 or 300 leading Liberals from the outlying parts of Penzance gathered together in the afternoon to hear Mr. Caine and Mr. Pillai.

Mr. Pillai congratulated them on the formation of their Association, for the multiplicity of Liberal Associations in this country tended always to the good of India. The great friends and champions of India had all been Liberals—India's first champion in the House of Commons was Mr. John Bright—a stalwart Liberal. Her next friend was the late Henry Fawcett—also a Liberal. The next man that championed her cause was no less a person than Charles Bradlaugh. In the last Parliament, India had no truer or firmer friend than Sir William Wedderburn—again a Liberal; and in the present Parliament, India had the assistance and sympathy of Mr. Caine. The first Indian who entered Parliament also entered as a Liberal. There was no name better known or more revered in India than that of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The great Liberal party in England had always sympathised with India. To-day it was through the Liberals that India expected to obtain political salvation. It was English Liberals that sympathised with educated Indians; and it was through Liberal Associations that India made herself heard in this country. All the great measures introduced in India for the good of the people had been initiated by Liberal statesmen, and there was no name more respected and revered throughout India than that of William Ewart Gladstone. When the Liberals had been in power in this country, a Liberal policy had been pursued in India. They owed the measure of local self-government which they possessed to a Liberal Viceroy—Lord Ripon. But a policy of re-action had now set in in India under a Conservative Administration in England. Mr. Pillai dwelt on the measures introduced in India under the Conservative Administration, and compared them with those for which India was indebted to Liberal Viceroys and statesmen. After dwelling on the shabby way in which India was treated by the House of Commons in connexion with the famine, he appealed to the Liberal electors to return only such men to Parliament as would pledge themselves to a policy of fair play and justice to India. Disraeli once said that the key to India was to be found not at Herat or Kandahar, but at Westminster. Mr. Pillai fully believed that statement, and it was only through the House of Commons that India could ever hope to fulfil her aspirations.

Mr. Caine spoke at length on the efficiency and character and capability of Indians. He observed that what was asked for was justice between the two countries. If the Liberal party were not true to democratic principles, they were true to nothing, for that was their foundation. The great Colonies were more democratic than the mother country. When Britain annexed a country like India, it was the business of the British to foster democratic principles to the utmost of their power, and develop them into self-government. As great men had said, one aim of British over-rule in India should be to develop the inherent qualities of the Indian people, so that they might become self-governing.

A large public meeting was held in the evening in the same hall, consisting mainly of the public of Penzance. After the introduction,

Mr. Pillai again spoke on "Indian matters." He dwelt on the extraordinary way in which India was being treated in the House of Commons. He wondered how many people present there knew that the Secretary of State for India was independent of the House of Commons. While other Secretaries of State drew their salaries from the British Exchequer, the Secretary for India still drew his salary from the Indian Exchequer. It was open to any member of the House to propose a reduction in the salary of the Secretary for the Colonies, but it was not open to his friend Mr. Caine, or any other member, to suggest a similar reduction in the salary of the Secretary for India. In fact, the present Secretary had set his face resolutely against any attempt to throw the burden of his salary, or that of his Council or any portion thereof, upon the British Exchequer. What had happened? A Royal Commission was appointed some years ago to consider the question of Indian expenditure, and this Commission recommended that about £250,000 now paid out of Indian funds ought to be charged to the account of the British Exchequer. One of the items which went to make up the total was a charge of £50,000 in aid of the India Office. In adopting the suggestion of the Commission, the Secretary for India had curiously enough omitted this particular item and substituted other items rejected by the Commission, so that the total might be the same. The Secretary of State for India was then scrupulously careful to avoid any portion of the expenditure of the India Office being charged on the British Exchequer—that was how India was being treated. Mr. Pillai next dwelt on the splendid loyalty shown by the people of India—how, even before Britishers had thought of erecting a memorial to the late Queen, India had subscribed, as they knew from the morning papers, half a million pounds for a monument. But in return India got no political or other concessions. Mr. Pillai proceeded to speak of the invidious distinction that was shown between the rulers and the ruled in India—how, in spite of the great Proclamation of the Queen in 1858, Natives were being kept back from the higher grades of Service, even in such departments as the Educational Department. He closed his speech by referring to the late famine.

Mr. Caine made a comprehensive speech, calling upon all true Liberals to help India. He also spoke on general politics.

AT ST. IVES.

On Friday, 8th February, Mr. Caine and Mr. Pillai left for St. Ives, another pretty town. They addressed a crowded public meeting at 8 p.m.

MR. PILLAI said that during the past few days they must have been strongly reminded of the importance of India. Edward VII was only a King in Great Britain, but he was a King of Kings as well, an Emperor, and he derived that title from India. India had been acknowledged to be the brightest jewel in the British Crown, and he prayed that it might always remain so. He was very pleased to read the special address which the new King had addressed to the Princes and people of India. India always had a high place in the affections of the late Queen. The well-beloved Queen had shown her regard for Indian soldiers. She had her own Indian private secretary. She was proud of her Indian attendants. She had mastered in her old days the chief language of India. Though India was favoured by King and Queen, the House of Commons remained indifferent to the interests of India. *Civis Romanus Sum* was an old maxim rendered familiar in this country by Lord Palmerston. It was something now-a-days to be a British citizen; but if the British citizen happened to be an Indian, he was made to feel his subordinate position. In this country he enjoyed full privileges. He could even enter the House of Commons. But, the moment he entered a British Colony, his colour became a great disadvantage. There was the testimony of Lord Roberts, as well as of Sir George White, as to the courageous and faithful way in which Indians had behaved as stretcher-bearers in South Africa. Yet, how had they been treated in the British Colony of Natal? They had been as a body disfranchised. They were compelled to arm themselves with a pass if they wished to appear in the streets at night. They had to pay a poll-tax. They were denied admission to hotels. In fact, they enjoyed none of the privileges which the white British citizen enjoyed. Yet India was the first to send her army to Natal to defend that Colony. India was also the first to go to the rescue of Englishmen in China. These disabilities ought to be removed, if they wished to have a contented India. Let them look at the difference in the treatment of Australia and India. India after all did not ask for Home Rule at present. She asked only for increased confidence in her people. The people of India wanted their representatives in the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay. They wanted also to have a hand in the financial administration of their country. But even these concessions were denied to them. Mr. Pillai concluded with an appeal to those assembled to take greater interest in India.

MR. CAINE made a long and interesting speech partly on Indian affairs and partly on general politics.

On Saturday, the 9th ult., Mr. Caine and Mr. Pillai left the "delectable Duchy" and returned to London. Everywhere in Cornwall the audiences were very sympathetic and many expressed their wish to hear Mr. Pillai again on Indian affairs. The two leading papers in Plymouth, the *Western Daily Mercury* and the *Western Morning News*, and all the minor papers in Cornwall, published fairly good reports of all the meetings. The *Western Morning News* spoke of Mr. Pillai's speeches as being "eloquent" and "interesting;" and the Liberal organ, the *Mercury*, had a sympathetic paragraph about India which ran thus:—

"He (Mr. Caine) spoke at Falmouth on Wednesday and at Penzance on Thursday, accompanied at both places by an Indian gentleman who addressed the meetings on topics affecting our great Eastern dependency. Mr. Caine has long interested himself in all questions relating to India and may be said to be the member for India in the present House of Commons. We wish him success in his efforts to get English constituencies to take a living interest in India."

It cannot be said that the speakers did not meet with any adverse criticism anywhere. The *Cornish Post*, a Conservative weekly published in Camborne, instead of reporting the speeches, published a running commentary consisting of the horrid details of the Sepoy Mutiny as a sufficient answer to the "cultured Indian editor" who, while emphasizing the loyalty of the Indian people, "eloquently pictured India as a misgoverned and oppressed country."

Imperial Parliament.

Tuesday, March 5.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

INDIAN STAFF CORPS OFFICERS IN CHINA.

Sir SEYMOUR KING asked the Secretary of State for India whether any provision had been made for assisting officers of the Indian Staff Corps who were engaged in the operations in China to meet the extra expenses entailed upon them by having to organise messes at Tientsin and elsewhere, and provide warm clothing for themselves and their servants, and by the higher price of all stores as compared with India:

And, whether he would represent to the War Office the similarity of the case of these officers with that of their comrades who were engaged in the Chitral and Tirah Campaigns and received a special field allowance of 5s. per diem.

Lord G. HAMILTON: There was no special field allowance of 5s. a day to Staff Corps officers engaged in the Tirah and Chitral Campaigns.

As regards China, Staff Corps officers receive *Indian* rates of pay and allowances in that country which compare favourably with the *English* rates paid to British units in the Expedition. But General Gaselee was informed on January 10, in reply to a question received from him a few days earlier, that if he would submit proposals for reasonable lodging, fuel, and lighting allowances, they would be transmitted to the War Office for consideration.

Thursday, March 7.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE G.I.P. RAILWAY.

Mr. GORDON asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state the cause for the continued refusal by the India Office and the Bank of England to explain to the 15,000 shareholders of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company the details and methods recently employed in calculating the average rate of interest received and paid on Indian Government Stock in London during the two-year period under consideration:

Whether he was aware that the amount of stock referred to in this contract, and by the Bank of England, was about £120,000,000, but that by an oversight the Bank of England had omitted from the calculation about £100,000,000 stock, and only dealt with that proportion which was invested in during the two-year period:

Whether he was aware that this intrusion of the key-word invested, instead of received, was contrary to all precedent:

And, what steps would be taken to satisfy the shareholders of the Great Indian, the Bombay, and the Madras Railway Companies that the India Office itself felt a direct responsibility for the due completion of their contracts.

Lord CRANBORNE: As to the first question, the letter from the Bank of England dated November 9, 1900, which gives all the information in my possession as to the methods employed in calculating the rate of interest, was immediately communicated to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, and, if the hon. Member likes to move for the correspondence in continuation of that already given to the House, I have no objection.

As to questions 2, 3, and 4, the hon. Member is no doubt aware that, under the contract, the decision as to the rate of interest lay, not with the Secretary of State for India, but with the Governor of the Bank of England, and that his decision, when challenged, was upheld by two Courts of Law. This appears to me to create a very strong presumption that it was a sound and proper decision, but, in any case, the Secretary of State is bound, like the Company, to accept it and to act upon it. He has no option in the matter.

COOPERS HILL COLLEGE.

Mr. O'MARA asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would explain why Sir Charles Bernard's recommendation not to re-appoint a separate salaried President to Coopers Hill College was not adopted:

And, whether he could inform the House if this recommendation had been adopted what annual saving would have resulted therefrom since 1895.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The recommendation made by Sir Charles Bernard was not ignored. On the next vacancy in 1896, Colonel Pennycuick was appointed to the Presidency on the understanding that he should in addition discharge the duties of Professor of Engineering. But, after two years' experience, he strongly urged that he ought to be relieved of his professorial duties, and to this the Secretary of State in Council, on the advice of the Board of Visitors, finally agreed. The saving which resulted from the combination of the two offices was about £600 a year.

The salary of the President is £1,000 a year.

Mr. O'MARA asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Board of Visitors recommended the dismissal of Mr. Hurst, accounts instructor; and, if not, who did so: and whether his successor had yet been appointed.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The Board of Visitors recommended that the proposal of the President for a change in the system of tuition in accounts should be adopted; and this involved the retirement of Mr. Hurst, and the appointment of a lecturer who should be conversant with the system of the Indian Public Works Department. But, as there is no course of lectures on accounts in the summer term, no fresh appointment has yet been made.

Mr. O'MARA asked the Secretary of State for India if he could state how many new teachers had been appointed to Coopers Hill College, and how many more it was proposed to appoint under the Report of the Board of Visitors, dated July 24, 1900; what would be the total sum of the salaries of all these new appointments; what was the total sum of the salaries of the teachers who had been dismissed: and what reduction in the yearly cost of the teaching staff would result therefrom.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The number of new teachers to be appointed is four, and their salaries will amount to £1,367 per annum. The salaries of the retiring professors and lecturers amount to £3,087, showing a saving of £1,720. Against this must be set the proposed increases in the salaries of the remaining teachers amounting to £300. The net saving in salaries is therefore £1,420 per annum.

THE FAMINE COMMISSION.
MR. LELY'S AND MR. DALAL'S EVIDENCE.

Mr. CAINE asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention had been drawn to the evidence of February 7 before the Famine Commission of Mr. Lely, Commissioner in Gujarat, to the effect that owing to the exhaustion of the soil, the fall in price of sugar and cotton, the disuse of the old custom of grain storage for home consumption, and the loss of 70 per cent. of their cattle, there had been a complete breakdown among the cultivators of Gujarat:

And, whether, seeing that Mr. Lely repeatedly urged a suspension of 45 per cent. of the revenues last year in Gujarat, he could state the grounds on which the Bombay Government refused to remit more than 20 per cent; was he aware that owing to the force of circumstances only 28 per cent. could be collected; and could he explain why the proposed suspensions of revenue were not earlier made known to the people.

Mr. CAINE asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention had been drawn to the evidence before the Famine Commission of Mr. Dalal, Famine Commissioner in Baroda, showing the benefit to the suffering cultivators of the wells constructed by the Baroda State in the Kadi district:

And, whether, with reference to Mr. Dalal's statement that the people of Kadi were less poor than those of Ahmedabad, he would consider the desirability of extending the benefits of this system to the neighbouring British district of Ahmedabad.

Lord G. Hamilton: As the circumstances to which the honourable Member's questions refer are now being enquired into by a Commission in India, I must await the arrival of their Report before I can express any opinion on the subject.

THE NEW FRONTIER AGENCY.

Mr. Schwann asked the Secretary of State for India whether he could state the area, approximately, of that portion of the proposed new Province situate beyond the present frontiers of his Majesty's Indian possessions, and stated to be as comprised in the political agencies of Dir, Swat, Chitral, the Khyber, the Kuram, Tochi, and Wano; and the estimated annual cost of the military occupation and political administration of these trans-frontier regions under the proposed scheme; and would the cost of maintenance be made an Imperial charge, this being a matter of Imperial defence.

Lord G. Hamilton: The aggregate area of the present Agencies will not be affected by the substitution of the authority of the Government of India for their control in the place of the authority of the Government of the Punjab. I have no estimate of their present extent.

Until the details of the transfer are settled I cannot estimate the annual cost. The charges will continue to be borne as they are at present by the Government of India.

Mr. Schwann asked the Secretary of State for India would the subtraction from the Punjab of its four western districts and placing them under the Political Department at Simla or Calcutta, withdraw them and their populations from the jurisdiction of the Chief Court at Lahore, and from the ordinary revenue and public works administration of the Punjab Government; and could he say if any dissents or opinions had been recorded pursuant to the Act of 1858, Sections 23, 24, in course of the correspondence and proceedings of the Secretary of State in Council during the working up of the scheme for organisation for the proposed new Province; and whether such dissents or opinions would be placed before Parliament at an early date in accordance with Sections 54, 55, of the Act of 1858.

Lord G. Hamilton: No final decision has been arrived at on the matters mentioned in the first part of the question.

The answer to the second part of question is in the affirmative, and the papers relating to the subject should be in the hands of the House in the course of a few hours.

THE TOUR OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF CORNWALL AND YORK.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether it would be possible to include, in the course of the forthcoming tour of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York to the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominion of Canada, a visit to the Empire of India, where the presence of the heir to the Throne with his Consort would be regarded as a most gracious compliment by the Princes and peoples, and be productive of beneficent results similar to those which followed the memorable visit thirty years ago of his Majesty the King as Prince of Wales.

Mr. Balfour: In answer to my hon. friend I have to say that the pressure upon the time of their Royal Highnesses is so great that it would be impossible to carry out the scheme, I am afraid, which he suggests.

Friday, March 8.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE ARMY ESTIMATES.

Mr. Brodrick, in his speech on the Army Estimates, made various references to India. In the course of his sketch of the history of Army reform, he said:—As every one knows, this country, like other countries, went to sleep for forty years afterwards (*i.e.* after the year 1815) in military matters, and our organization became so rusty in the latter years of the Duke of Wellington that in the Crimea we were found deficient in everything that was needed to make an army except the bravery of our troops. (Hear, hear.) We had not enough men; we had not enough horses; we had no commissariat and supplies; our officers were untrained, and our generals were inexperienced. (Cries of "No.") We took so little heed of our position that there was no time during the last century in which the British Army was weaker than between 1860 and 1870. (Hear, hear.) It was not only the Army in this country that was insufficient, but the army which, after the Indian Mutiny, and after the great awakening in India, should have been maintained in that country was constantly short by hundreds and thousands of men, and, as is well known, with absolutely no reserve at home to draw upon. (Hear, hear).

Coming to the present problems, Mr. Brodrick continued:—In approaching the subject of reform, I would ask the House to allow me to mention two points on which we differ from any other nation in regard to the problems we have to face. In the first place, we have got to keep an enormous force abroad, quite apart from war, in a time of peace. We have got to provide, to equip, 115,000 men in India and the colonies, mostly in tropical stations, and we have to attempt to do that, which no other Power attempts, relying entirely upon voluntary enlistment. If we arrive finally at a decision that we can build up on the present system, it will not be for want of consideration of what other systems can do. The right hon. baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean has impressed on the attention of the House more than once the desirability of having a separate Indian Army.

Sir C. Dilke: That is putting it too strongly. A separate system of enlistment rather than a separate Indian Army.

Mr. Brodrick: I have always thought that the right hon. gentleman rather favoured that view, though I have never been able to find my way to accept it, and that it was the key of a good deal of his want of confidence in the post I now occupy. At all events, I might explain to the House why we cannot accept the idea of a separate Indian Army. In the first place, we have 75,000 men in India. If you are to have a separate Indian Army, you must train the recruits before they leave this country. You must also have them at a certain age, because we never send men to India between fifteen and twenty years of age. The recruits require to train two years at home in order to fit them to go to India. That means you must keep two years' drafts; and experience shows that, if you want to keep a regiment of 1,000 men in India, you must keep as drafts between 400 and 500 men in England who belong to no regiment, who are enlisted solely for the Army, who are only partially trained before they leave, and who form a force accountable to nobody, and form no part of a unit at home. If, instead of these 400 or 500, you raise them to 800, and form them into a battalion at home, you will have a nucleus of Reservists which gives satisfaction to every general under whom they have served in South Africa. If you were to attempt a separate Indian Army, you would not only have a much greater cost on your active list, but you would have men serving nine or ten years in India, and you would incur a greater expense for pensions. You would have a no more effective army in India and a less effective one at home. We therefore reject the idea of a separate Indian Army.

Later, Mr. Brodrick said: Some men serve twelve years with the colours, and those men will not go into the reserve afterwards, but may be possibly allowed to go into the garrison reserve if they desire it. But incidentally, let me remind the House that this will meet a want that has often been spoken of in this House, that with the limited number of men who do want to give long service you will provide a man who enters the Army, subject to good conduct, with the certainty of a future career. That will give eight line battalions for field service. I get five more by substituting at certain fortresses five Indian battalions, who in the tropics are equally efficient for the work and would save us sending five battalions of young soldiers into a tropical climate. We pay India for raising these five battalions. Already two or three of them have taken up their duties. We propose to raise those to five in the present year. By that means we gain thirteen battalions.

Tuesday, March 12.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

INDIAN TROOPS IN CHINA.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree asked the Secretary of State for India whether he had any official information showing that the Indian troops and camp followers serving in North China were not provided with such suitable warm clothing as would enable them to resist the intense cold of that region, and that consequently they suffered great hardships:

And, could he state how many casualties and deaths from sickness had occurred among them up to the date of the last official reports received here or in India.

Lord G. Hamilton: I have not seen the reports referred to. An ample supply of warm clothing was provided for troops and followers, and we have no reason to suppose that there has been any sickness or suffering from any deficiencies in this respect.

The percentage of sick troops in hospital from all causes on January 1 was only 3½. The deaths have not been reported.

TELEGRAPHIC RATES.

Sir Edward Sassoon asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Indian Government received the same rate for the transit across India of messages between the Governments of the Australasian Colonies and the United Kingdom as was received for commercial telegrams; and, if not, what transit rate was paid by each of the various Governments concerned, and for what period in each case such rate had been in use:

Would he state the total number of words which, for each year from 1891-2 till the present time, had been exchanged between India and the United Kingdom as State or Government messages:

Whether, for each of the years in question, the Governments of India and the United Kingdom had paid for Government telegrams the same rate as currently charged for commercial telegrams; and, if not, would he state during what period and to what extent such rate for Government telegrams between India and the United Kingdom had been varied:

And, if it was inconvenient to furnish the number of words in these Government telegrams, would he give the sum annually paid since 1891-2 by the Indian Government for such telegrams sent and received between India and the United Kingdom.

Lord G. Hamilton: The transit rate across India for messages of the Governments of the Australasian Colonies and the United Kingdom is the same as that received for commercial telegrams.

The second and fourth questions will have to be referred to India for an answer. State messages from India include messages to the War Office, Admiralty, etc., and we have no information in this office regarding these.

The answer to the third question is "Yes." Government messages between India and the United Kingdom are paid for at the same rate as commercial messages.

Sir Edward Sassoon asked the Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the impossibility of gathering complete information on the subject from some of the annual reports published by the Indian Government Telegraph Department, he would give separately the number of words constituting the telegrams which for each year had passed over the Indian land lines from Bombay to Madras and *vice versâ* as transit messages under the headings of private, State and press, since the Indian Government became a partner with the Eastern Telegraph Company, the Eastern Extension, etc. Telegraph Company, and the Indo-European Telegraph Company, in the fund which, being known as the Australian Message Fund, was formed in

1891-2 in connexion with the reduction of telegraph rates between the United Kingdom and Australia; and would he give separately under the above headings the total sum for each year since India became a partner to this Australian Message Fund, which had been received by India as transit rate; and also the total sum for each year which would have been paid to India for the number of words which had actually been carried in transit, at the rate which prevailed before the reduction in 1891-2 of the Indian transit rate, made in favour of telegrams to and from Australia and the Far East.

Lord G. Hamilton: As I understand the question it means a wish to know the number of words, divided into private, State, and press, which have transitted India *between Bombay and Madras* and have been exchanged with Australia on the one side and the west of India on the other. Also the revenue derived from such messages under the present Indian transit rate and the revenue which would have been derived from the same number of words under the Indian transit rate in force previous to the Australasian Message Fund Agreement. I am afraid I cannot give this information though I could give the revenue or charge without much difficulty.

Sir Edward Sassoon asked the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he would say whether in all cases, as was the case at present in communicating with India, the full commercial rate was charged for Government telegrams exchanged with the United Kingdom; and, if not, in the case of which telegraph companies and to which countries a rate less than the full rate was charged for Government telegrams:

And, could he state the number of words or the total value of telegrams which, annually passing as Government telegrams, had been sent and received between the United Kingdom and India since the year 1891-2?

Mr. Austen Chamberlain: Reduced telegraph rates are charged to South Africa and certain places in East Africa and West Africa by the Eastern Telegraph Company and its associated companies; to Australasia and certain places in Asia beyond India by the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company; to North America by the North Atlantic cable companies; to the West Indies by the North Atlantic cable companies and the Direct West India Telegraph Company; to South America, so far as the Eastern and its associated telegraph companies and the North Atlantic cable companies are concerned; and to Cyprus by the Eastern Telegraph Company. The Postmaster General is not in a position to state the number of words or the value of Government telegrams between the United Kingdom and India, seeing that many of the telegrams do not pass through the hands of his officials, but are dealt with direct by the companies.

NOTICES OF QUESTIONS.

The following questions appear on the Order Paper of the House of Commons:—

Mr. Weir: To ask the President of the Board of Trade whether any steps have yet been taken to require the Peninsula and Oriental Steamship Company to provide Lascars employed on their vessels with accommodation equivalent to that to which European crews are entitled, viz. 72 cubic feet of space per man:

And, in view of a statement made by the late President of the Board of Trade, can it be stated whether any action has yet been taken against the company by way of a test case to show whether or not the company has committed an infringement of the Merchant Shipping Act in providing Lascars with less space than above indicated; and, if not, will he say when action will be taken.—[*Thursday, March* 14.]

Mr. James O'Connor: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether the Indian Government are making plans and estimates for the location of batches of 1,000 Boers at Dehra, Pachmarhi, and other places; and, if so, whether the Boers will be imprisoned in those districts.—[*Thursday, March* 14.]

Mr. T. M. Healy: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he would ascertain whether any European or American Government insist in their contract specifications for Army or Navy clothing on the use of indigo as a dye:

Do the English Government prescribe the indigo dye in order to assist an Indian product, or because it has been scientifically ascertained that it is a faster colour:

Is he aware that the specifications excluding process-dyed fabrics limit the competition for certain Government contracts to a small number of English makers who have not adopted modern methods of colouring; that no Irish manufacturers use any except analine dyes, and cannot compete for such material while indigo dyes are prescribed by the Admiralty and the War Office:

Will he explain why the recent Admiralty advertisement for clothing contracts specify a large number of English Chambers of Commerce where specimens of the material required could be inspected, but included no Irish city:

And, will he order independent scientific or technical investigation into the respective qualities of indigo and alizarine dyes, with a view to prevent manufacturers using modern dye-stuffs from being shut out from competing for a large number of Government clothing contracts. [*Thursday, March* 14.]

Mr. Herbert Roberts: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will state what military outposts were maintained at the close of 1898 beyond the frontiers of his Majesty's Indian possessions:

Whether he can give the aggregate strength of the garrisons by which these posts were held and the class of troops occupying them, and what was the estimated annual cost of the occupation of these positions:

And, whether he will state what is the present position as to the number, cost, and disposition of troops holding these military outposts. [*Friday, March* 15.]

Mr. Caine: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he can give further information as to the condition of the winter crops in the Bombay Presidency and parts of Madras:

And, whether he will state what steps are being taken to deal with the renewed distress which now seems certain. [*Friday, March* 15.]

Mr. Caine: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he will state what amount has been subscribed in India for a memorial to her late Majesty Queen Victoria:

And, whether he can suggest to the Viceroy that this memorial should be such as to confer some permanent benefit upon the suffering masses in India. [*Friday, March* 15.]

Mr. Caine: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that, owing to the mortality in the Bombay Presidency from famine and disease, large numbers of orphans have been left entirely dependent upon charity:

And, whether he will state what has been done to provide for these children, and what public funds have been allotted to the support of public and private orphanages. [*Friday, March* 15.]

Mr. Caine: To ask the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that, in the Surat district, out of a total of 95 per cent. of land revenue collected last year, 85 per cent. was received from the money-lenders and only 10 per cent from the cultivators:

Under what authority the land revenue was received from money-lenders who are not in possession of the land:

Whether he can state what interest is exacted by the money-lenders from the cultivators for these advances:

And, whether, looking to the existing indebtedness of the cultivators, he will direct this practice to be abandoned. [*Friday, March* 15.]

THE NEW TRANS-INDUS CHARGE.

The *Manchester Guardian* (March 9) wrote:—

The Government of India is seen to advantage in the Blue-book, just issued, which deals with that old bane and plague of ours, the insecurity of order on India's North-West frontier. It shows the frank completeness with which the Indian Government faces the fact that it was wrong in its old forward policy of dotting weak British garrisons far out over the heaving sea of stone and snow beyond the actual frontier. They were mere challenges to attack, and in exposing them to be set upon by angry tribesmen we gave precious hostages to fortune, for of course they had to be rescued at any cost as often as they were beleaguered in some fragile residency or mud fort. If we could simply put a high plain fence, as it were, along our north-west frontier, and neither trespass nor allow others to trespass across, all might be well. But when there is a large State of the highly organised European type on one side of a frontier and on the other a welter of brave, uncivilised, irritable clans, of unstable relative standing and in every variety of friendly and unfriendly relations with their towering neighbour, then the territory of the latter tends to have a frayed edge, like a cloth not cut but torn, and exceptional skill and care are needed to keep the peace. In this Blue-book one sees that the difficulty is now vividly present to the Indian Government's mind and to the mind of the India Office in London. To meet it the provocative frontier policy that brought upon us the Chitral misfortune and its much graver sequel, the Tirah war, has been dropped, and a more sensible and elastic and less demonstrative mode of dealing with the sensitive border tribes has been substituted. It was to this end that the new frontier province was cut off from the Punjab the other day, that the doing of a very special and difficult kind of administrative diplomatic work, of the utmost consequence to all India, might no longer rank merely as one of the details of the administration of a great Province with, on the whole, a quite different character of its own.

The *Daily News* writes: Lord George Hamilton has promised to present to Parliament "at an early date" papers relating to the new Province which the Government of India, with the approval of the Home Government, has resolved to create out of the trans-Indus districts hitherto under the control of the Punjab. The papers will deserve careful scrutiny. Lord Curzon, since he became Viceroy, has no doubt modified his opinion of the "Forward" policy, of which he was at one time an enthusiastic advocate, and has shown more than one sign of a disposition to return to the sane and economical policy of Lord Lawrence. But the creation of the new Province tends to alarm. It is to include Peshawur, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, certain tribal country beyond these limits, and the political agencies of Dir, Swat, Chitral, the Khyber, the Kuram, Tochi, and Wana. The Province is to be under the control of an Agent, responsible not to the Punjab Government, but to the Government of India. The dangers of the scheme are obvious. Frontier and trans-frontier policy in India will now be immediately directed from Simla or Calcutta, without the intervention of a local administration, which has many reasons for shrinking from a policy of military adventure. In the Government of India itself the military element is predominant, and decentralisation has had the effect of turning the attention of the Viceroy more and more to foreign, or trans-frontier, affairs. So long as the Viceroy and the Government at home are restrained, by whatever causes, from "Forward" movements, mischief will doubtless be avoided. But the permanent influences at work tend in the opposite direction. The need for watchfulness is increased by the appointment of a military, not a civil, officer to be the first Agent. The details of the administration, Lord George Hamilton says, are not settled. It will be important to secure that the new scheme shall not have the effect of tightening our hold upon posts like Chitral, which have not been formally annexed, and which ought not to have been occupied. There is, we fear, a real danger that the creation of the new Province may, even without deliberation, cause a stereotyping of boundaries which would have been better left vague until a gradual return could be made to something like the policy of Lawrence.

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Presidential Address by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Lahore, 1893.

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